

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 IOE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 SAM-01

( ISO ) W

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P 231110Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5651

INFO NAC COLLECTIVE PRIORITY 093

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L COLOMBO 3181

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CE, US

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY: NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE:  
LEADERSHIP

BEGIN SUMMARY: FEW SPECTATORS, PARTICIPANTS, OR EVEN NAM  
RIVALS, DISAGREE WITH OUR EVALUATION THAT, OPERATING  
TOGETHER, INDIA, SRI LANKA, AND YUGOSLAVIA EXERCISED  
THE PREDOMINANT LEADERSHIP AT COLOMBO'S NON-ALIGNED  
CONFERENCE. NOTWITHSTANDING CERTAIN INTERNAL FRICTIONS,  
THAT TROIKA WAS ABLE TO COOPERATE AND DRAW, ONE ON THE  
OTHER, FOR RESOURCES AND ADVANTAGES VIA-A-VIA OTHER  
MEMBERS. AT THE SAME TIME, FOR REASONS NOT NECESSARILY  
ASSOCIATED WITH ANY OF THE THREE, OTHER CONTENDERS  
LOST POWER OR AT LEAST DID NOT WIELD IT AT THIS  
SESSION. CERTAIN MEMBERS, NEW AND OLD, RADICAL AND  
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MODERATE, ASSERTED IMPORTANT LEADERSHIP OF SECOND

DEGREE MAGNITUDE. END SUMMARY.

1. THROUGH WHAT WE BELIEVE TO HAVE BEEN A CAREFULLY WORKED OUT STRATEGY ORCHESTRATED PRIOR TO THE MAY-JUNE ALGIERS MEETING OF THE NACC, INDIA, SRI LANKA, AND YUGOSLAVIA, RECOGNIZING THAT NONE ALONE WOULD BE ABLE TO EXERCISE DOMINANT LEADERSHIP AT THE NAC, AGREED TO JOIN FORCES TOWARD THAT END, AND TO SUBLIMATE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES WHEN NECESSARY. YUGOSLAVIA HAD THE WILL, MANPOWER, TRADITION, AND REPUTATION; INDIA THE APPARENT DESIRE TO REASSERT ITSELF AND ABILITY TO INFLUENCE, AMONG OTHERS, SRI LANKA. SRI LANKA, IN TURN, HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING THE HOST COUNTRY AND THE AUTHOR OF THE DRAFT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DECLARATIONS. SRI LANKA HAD ALSO LEARNED FROM ALGERIA'S EXAMPLE, AND UNDER ADMITTEDLY TANZANIAN TUTELAGE, THAT MUCH POWER CAN BE EXERCISED BY DELAYING PROCESSING OF AMENDMENTS, AND BY HONING TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT SHOULD THE AMENDMENT PROCESS PROVE UNSATISFACTORY, ORIGINAL (I.E. SRI LANKAN) TEXTS SHOULD BE ACCEPTED. FURTHER, THE LEADES OF EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES, TO VARIOUS DEGREES, WISHED THEIR NATION TO EXERT STRONGER NAM LEADERSHIP. THE CHARISMA OF TITO AND INDIRA GANDHI DID NOT IMPEDE THEIR EFFORTS ONE BIT. OF THE THREE, YUGOSLAVIAN LEADERSHIP WAS MORE EVIDENT AND DECISIVE AT CRITICAL MOMENTS.

2. UNDER THEIR LEADERSHIP, THE CONFERENCE ASSUMED A "MODERATE" TONE. THIS CHARACTERIZATION IS, OF COURSE, USED IN A VERY RELATIVE WAY. THE LANGUAGE WAS "MODERATE" AND LEADERS SUCH AS THOSE MENTIONED ABOVE WERE "MODERATE", NOT IN COMPARISON NECESSARILY WITH LANGUAGE OR STATEMENTS WHICH WE WOULD HAVE WISHED OURSELVES, BUT IN COMPARISON WITH DESIDERATA SET FORTH BY THE LIKES OF THE DPRK, CUBA, ET AL.

3. AS IN MOST CONTESTS FOR LEADERSHIP, COMPROMISES INEVITABLY WERE INVOLVED: IN THIS CASE, ON LANGUAGE, AND SURELY IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE NACC. AND, TO A DEGREE, ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES ALSO WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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TOLERATED OR, IN FACT, FOSTERED, TO ENSURE LEADERSHIP OF AT LEAST THE ACCEPTANCE OF CERTAIN POSITIONS. ACCORDINGLY, WHILE THE CHAIRMAN OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE DRAFTING GROUP, UN PERM REP SALIM (TANZANIA) HAD, ON CERTAIN ISSUES, A STRONG BIAS AGAINST "MODERATION" SUCH WAS ALLOWED TO THE DEGREE NECESSARY, IN ORDER TO CONTAIN ANY SERIOUS THREATS TO THE TROIKA'S MANAGEMENT OF THE CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE. AND, MOST OF

THE CONTROVERSIES WHICH DID EXIST DURING THE CONFERENCE WERE LIMITED TO THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE. ON MANY DECISIONS, THE TROIKA MAINTAINED A LOW PROFILE WITHIN THAT COMMITTEE WHILE, BEHIND THE SCENES, MANIPULATING THE KEY DECISIONS.

4. ALGERIA, INTENSELY PREOCCUPIED WITH THE QUESTION OF THE SAHARA, WAS CLEARLY AND, WE BELIEVE, UNINTENTIONALLY, OUTFLANKED.

5. AN IMPORTANT NEW ARRIVAL, VIETNAM, DEMONSTRATED OFTEN IN ITS OWN TROIKA WITH CAMBODIA AND LAOS, THAT IT IS A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH WITHIN THE MOVEMENT. LEAVING LAOTIANS TO PLAY AGGRESSIVE ROLE IN ASEAN DISPUTE, VIETNAMESE DELEGATION IMPRESSED CONFERENCE WITH MODERATION OF ITS POSITIONS AND DIGNITY OF ITS CONDUCT. THIS PROBABLY WAS IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN DECISION TO GIVE IT NACC SEAT AGAINST OBSTREPEROUS CLAIMS OF DPRK. THE NO-SHOW OF KIM II-SUNG AND FIDEL CASTRO GREATLY HINDERED DPRK AND CUBAN LEADERSHIP PROSPECTS. DPRK FOUND CONFERENCE UNDISPOSED TO HAVING FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET IN PYONGYANG, AS WELL AS UNRECEPTIVE TO ITS PLEAS FOR NACC SEAT. ALTHOUGH ITS TEXTS ON KOREAN SITUATION WERE ACCEPTED, THEY MET WITH STRONG OPPOSITION AND NAM-RECORD BREAKING FOURTEEN (AT LAST COUNT) RESERVATIONS. SIMILARLY ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, AS WELL AS TO A DEGREE ON PUERTO RICO, THE CUBANS TOOK A LICKING. PRECISE REASONS, HOWEVER, AS TO WHY CUBA CHOSE NOT TO EXERCISE FORCEFULNESS ARE UNCLEAR EVEN TO SUCH CLOSE OBSERVERS AS JOB (YUGOSLAVIA). THEY MAY, OF COURSE, BE RELATED TO CUBA'S DESIRE NOT TO DISCOURAGE HAVANA FROM BECOMING SITE OF NEXT NAC. CONFIDENTIAL

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JOB BELIEVES, BY THE WAY, THAT FIDEL'S ABSENCE MAY BE RELATED TO HIS CONCERN OVER SECURITY HERE.

6. AS USUALLY IS THE CASE, CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES EXERTED AN EFFECTIVE ROLE ON INDIVIDUAL ISSUES IN WHICH THEY ARE PRIMARILY INTERESTED. SENEGAL, FOR INSTANCE, WAS IMPORTANT IN TEMPERING CUBAN ECONOMIC BOILER PLATE AND ALGERIAN DRAFT ON SAHARA. PANAMA, OF COURSE, WAS ACTIVE ON CANAL, TANZANIA ON SOUTHERN AFRICA; GUYANA AND JAMAICA WERE OBSESSED WITH "DESTABILIZATION" IN LTAIN AMERICA, LIBERIA, TO A DEGREE OCCASIONED BY THE PRESENCE OF FONMIN DENNIS, WAS VOCAL WHENEVER (HOWEVER RARELY) SALIM CHOSE TO ALLOW A MODERATE TO SPEAK. INDONESIA WAS ACTIVE CONCERNING SOUTH EAST ASIA; MADAGASCAR

ON IOPZ, MOROCCO ON SAHARA; AND THE PLO, NATURALLY,  
CONCERNING THE MIDDLE EAST.

7. NEVER RADICALS TRIED TO GET THEIR TWO CENTS IN  
ON VIRTUALLY EVERY ISSUE--A ATIME-CONSUMING AND  
OFTEN LUDICROUS SPECTACLE. MOZAMBIQUE, GUINEA-  
BISSAU, ANGOLA AND BENIN FALL INTO THIS CATEGORY.  
AMONG OLDER AFRICAN RADICALS, MALI DID NOT PLAY A  
VITAL ROLE, SOMALIA WAS ACTIVE CONCERNING DJIBOUTI.

8. ALL AGREE THAT A CHARTER MEMBER OF NAM-EGYPT-  
SUFFERED AN EMBARRASSING DEFEAT WHEN IT WAS NOT  
INCLUDED IN THE NEW NACC, ITS STRONG ATTEMPTS TO THE  
CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING. OF LAST YEAR'S NACC,  
SYRIA, NEPAL, AND KUWAIT DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN  
ESPECIALLY ACTIVE AT COLOMBO. TWO AFRICAN COUNTRIES  
WHICH WE HAD THOUGHT WOULD BE MORE VOCAL, MAURITIUS  
(AS OAU CHAIRMAN) AND NIGERIA, MAINTAINED A LOW  
PROFILE. PERU, ON THE OTHER HAND, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN  
AN IMPORTANT FORCE FOR MODERATION AMONG NACC MEMBERS  
(SEPTEL), AS WAS ZAIRE.

9. ABILITY OF INDIAN-SRI LANKAN-YUGOSLAV GROUPING TO  
RETAIN LEADERSHIP DEPENDS NOW TO DEGREE ON DYNAMICS  
OF NEW NACC, CUBAN MACHINATIONS IN PREPARATION FOR  
HAVANA SUMMIT, AND INCLINATION OF OTHERS TO DISPLACE  
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## Message Attributes

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